

Message Text

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ACTION IO-10

INFO OCT-01 AF-04 ARA-06 EUR-12 EA-06 NEA-06 ISO-00

ACDA-05 AEC-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-05 L-02

NASA-01 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02 PA-01 PRS-01

RSC-01 OES-03 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01 FEA-01 /105 W

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R 022309Z DEC 74

FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8065

INFO USMISSION IAEA VIENNA

USMISSION GENEVA

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

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AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

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AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRASILIA

AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY MEXICO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 5594

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM UN

SUBJECT: UNGA FIRST COMMITTEE DISARMAMENT WRAP-UP:
NON-NUCLEAR RELATED ISSUES

1. THIS MESSAGE REPORTS HIGHLIGHTS OF UNGA FIRST COMMITTEE CONSIDERATION OF NON-NUCLEAR ISSUES DURING ANNUAL DISARMAMENT DEBATE. NON-NUCLEAR ISSUES GENERALLY RECEIVED LESS ATTENTION THEN IN PREVIOUS SESSIONS SINCE THEY WERE OVERSHADOWED BY NONPROLIFERATION ISSUES PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT OF THE INDIAN NUCLEAR EXPLOSION (SEE SEPTEL).

2. ENVIRONMENTAL WARFARE (ENMOD). AMONG NON-NUCLEAR ISSUES, SOVIET SHOWCASE ITEM ON ENMOD ATTRACTED MOST ATTENTION. MOST DELS SHOWED LITTLE INTEREST, HOWEVER, WAITING PASSIVELY FOR SOVIETS TO ISSUE REVISED RES AFTER NEGOTIATIONS FIRST WITH US AND LATER WITH SWEDES. WE DETECTED LITTLE REAL ENTHUSIASM FOR INITIATIVE AMONG NON-ALIGNED, ALTHOUGH THEY WERE WILLING TO SUPPORT SOV INITIATIVE TO HAVE ENMOD CONVENTION NEGOTIATED IN CCD.

3. SOVS PROVED INFLEXIBLE WHEN WE SOUGHT TO REACH COMPROMISE WITH THEM ON ENMOD RES LANGUAGE. THEY CLEARLY COULD NOT GIVE WAY ON WHAT THEY CONSIDERED BASIC POINT, ASKING CCD TO SEEK AN "APPROPRIATE INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION." US-PROPOSED FORMULA ASKING CCD MERELY TO CONSIDER "EFFECTIVE MEASURES" TO "OVERCOME DANGERS" OF ENVIRONMENTAL WARFARE WAS TREATED BY SOVS AS BOTH TOO NARROW AND TOO VAGUE. SOV DEL ASKED US HOW EFFECTIVE MEASURES COULD BE ACHIEVED OTHER THAN BY CONCLUDING A CONVENTION, AND THEY ALSO EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT TERM "EFFECTIVE MEASURES" COULD BE INTERPRETED AS JUSTIFYING NO ACTION AT ALL.

4. SOVS DID, HOWEVER, ACCEPT SOME REVISIONS PROPOSED BY SWEDEN, CANADA, AND OTHERS THAT WERE HELPFUL FROM US STANDPOINT. IN PARTICULAR, SCOPE OF RES WAS CLARIFIED BY REFERENCE TO "MILITARY AND OTHER HOSTILE PURPOSES." ON THE OTHER HAND, SWEDES AND CANADIANS SHOWED NO GREAT

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INTEREST IN REMOVING REFERENCE TO AN INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION AND SWEDES ALSO EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS PRIVATELY ABOUT APPARENT US DESIRE TO NARROW SCOPE OF MANDATE TO CCD BY REFERENCE TO MEASURES TO "OVERCOME DANGERS". WE RECEIVED OVERALL IMPRESSION THAT, ALTHOUGH SWEDES DO NOT LIKE SOVIET DRAFT CONVENTION ON ENMOD, THEY MAY JOIN SOVIETS IN SEEKING VERY BROAD RESTRICTIONS ON ENVIRONMENTAL WARFARE AT CCD. REVISED ENMOD RES WAS

APPROVED BY PREDICTABLY LARGE MARGIN, 102-0-7 (US, FRANCE, BURUNDI, GABON, MALI, CHILE, PARAGUAY).

5. CHEMICAL WEAPONS (CW) NEGOTIATIONS ON CW RES STARTED ON A DIFFICULT NOTE WHEN POLISH DEL INFORMED US THAT EASTERN EUROPEANS WERE NEGOTIATING DRAFT RES WITH NON-ALIGNED, WHICH WOULD BE DISCUSSED WITH US DEL ONLY AFTER NON-ALIGNED, AND EES HAD AGREED ON TEXT. DRAFT PRESENTED TO US ON THIS BASIS WAS HIGHLY TENDENTIOUS, PREJUDGING CW ISSUE IN FAVOR OF COMPREHENSIVE CONVENTION AND INCLUDING CRITICAL ALLUSIONS TO US FAILURE TO RATIFY GENEVA PROTOCOL AND BW CONVENTION. AS WE NEGOTIATED WITH POLES, HOWEVER, IT BECAME INCREASINGLY APPARENT THAT THEY DID NOT HAVE FULL SUPPORT OF NON-ALIGNED AS THEY HAD CLAIMED. WE WERE ABLE TO AGREE ON REVISION OF RES WITH YUGOSLAV DEL (REPRESENTING CCD NON-ALIGNED) WHICH POLES THEN ACCEPTED. REVISED RES, APPROVED BY ACCLAMATION, WAS PROCEDURAL AND MERELY REFERRED CW TO CCD FOR FURTHER WORK.

6. IN SPEECHES AND CORRIDOR CONVERSATIONS NUMEROUS DELS EXPRESSED INTEREST IN US-USSR SUMMIT COMMUNIQUE OF LAST JULY REGARDING POSSIBLE JOINT INITIATIVE ON DANGEROUS LETHAL CHEMICAL WEAPONS AT CCD. WE HAD EXPECTED EE DELS TO INCLUDE REFERENCE TO THIS COMMUNIQUE IN THEIR CW RES AND WONDERED WHETHER SUCH REFERENCE WAS OMITTED AT SOVIET INSISTENCE. POLISH REP EXPLAINED THAT SUBSTANCE OF JOINT COMMUNIQUE HAD INDEED BEEN INCLUDED IN ORIGINAL DRAFT BUT WAS DELETED AT INSISTENCE OF NON-ALIGNED DELS. YUGOSLAV REP LATER CONFIRMED THIS, ARGUING THAT CW MANDATE TO CCD SHOULD BE RESTATED IN EXACTLY SAME TERMS AS IN PREVIOUS YEARS, WHICH WOULD REAFFIRM OBJECTIVE OF PROHIBITION OF ALL CW BUT AS

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PRACTICAL MATTER LEAVE DOOR OPEN FOR LESS COMPREHENSIVE MEASURES.

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7. NAPALM, INCENDIARIES AND OTHER SPECIFIC CONVENTIONAL
WEAPONS. SWEDISH DRAFT RES CENTERED ON FURTHER INTERNATIONAL
APPROACH TO QUESTION OF USE OF NAPALM, INCENDIARIES
AND OTHER SPECIFIC CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS WHICH MAY
CAUSE UNNECESSARY SUFFERING OR HAVE INDISCRIMINATE
EFFECTS. CONSIDERABLE AND PROLONGED EFFORTS WERE

MADE MAINLY BY CANADA, TO ACHIEVE COMPROMISE RES ACCEPTABLE TO US AS WELL AS OTHERS. HOWEVER, SWEDEN REFUSED TO MAKE MORE THAN TOKEN CHANGE IN CALL BY RES ON DIPLOMATIC CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL HUMANITARIAN LAW IN ARMED CONFLICTS "TO CONTINUE ITS SEARCH FOR AGREEMENT ON RULES" FOR LIMITATION OR PROHIBITION OF THE USE OF SUCH WEAPONS. THIS CHANGE WAS TO INSERT "POSSIBLE" BEFORE "RULES". IN US VIEW FURTHER EXPERT STUDY SHOULD PRECEDE ANY NEGOTIATION ON SUCH RULES. WE GAINED IMPRESSION SWEDES WERE NOT MUCH INTERESTED IN GAINING US SUPPORT SINCE ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS THEY STRESSED THAT ANY CONCESSIONS TO US WOULD BE AT COST OF SEVERAL NON-ALIGNED INCLUDING MEXICO. ACTIVE CAMPAIGNING AGAINST DRAFT RES BY UK MAY ALSO HAVE MADE SWEDES LESS WILLING TO COMPROMISE. RES WAS APPROVED 102-0-14 (INCLUDING US AND SOVIET BLOC). SUBSEQUENT SYRIAN RES CONDEMNING OUTRIGHT USE OF NAPALM AND OTHER INCENDIARIES AND CALLING FOR AGREEMENTS ON THEIR PROHIBITION PASSED 81(SWEDEN)-0-25 (INCLUDING US, SOVIET BLOC, EC-9)

8. WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE (WDC) AND REDUCTION OF MILITARY BUDGETS (ROB) NOTEWORTHY SIDELIGHT IN DISARMAMENT DEBATE WAS FACT THAT SOVS LOST INITIATIVE ON ROB ITEM AND FAILED TO REGAIN IT ON WDC ITEM WHERE LEADERSHIP HAD ALREADY BEEN SEIZED BY NON-ALIGNED. EACH OF THESE ITEMS, WHICH HAD BEEN SOV SHOW-CASE VEHICLES IN PREVIOUS UNGAS, WAS COVERED ONLY BY A MEXICAN-SPONSORED RES, NEITHER OF WHICH WAS MUCH TO SOVS' LIKING. THEY OBJECTED TO LAST PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPH OF WDC RES, WHICH NOTES THAT IT DOES NOT SEEM YET POSSIBLE TO REACH "FINAL CONCLUSIONS" ON CONVENING WDC, BUT WERE FORCED TO ACCEPT IT BECAUSE PRC REFUSED TO GO ALONG WITH THE CONSENSUS ON THE RES IF IT WERE DELETED. THE LIFE OF THE WDC AD HOC COMMITTEE WAS CONTINUED BY THE RES FOR ANOTHER

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YEAR TO GO ON STUDYING VIEWS ON A WDC BUT TO MAKE NO PREPARATIONS FOR IT. RES ON ROB WAS EVEN MORE HUMILIATING FOR SOVDEL SINCE TEXT GAVE VIRTUALLY NO NOTICE TO SOVIET TEN-PERCENT REDUCTION PROPOSAL, AND IT PLACED ROB ITEM ON NEXT UNGA AGENDA UNDER TITLE NOT EVEN CONTAINING WORDS ON REDUCTION OF MILITARY BUDGETS. WORST OF ALL FROM SOVIET STANDPOINT, ROB RES RECOGNIZED THAT PROGRESS CANNOT BE MADE TOWARD MILITARY BUDGET REDUCTIONS UNTIL DIFFICULT TECHNICAL QUESTIONS, SUCH AS DEFINITION OF MILITARY EXPENDITURES, ARE RESOLVED. IN IRONIC REVERSAL OF 1973 ACTION, US SUPPORTED THIS YEAR'S ROB RES AND THE SOVIET BLOC ABSTAINED. CHINA VOTED NO, SINCE IT STILL WHIFFED A SOV ODOR ON THE ITEM. RES PASSED 89-2-13.

9. ROLE OF CCD. IN COMPARISON WITH RECENT YEARS, AND PERHAPS IN PART BECAUSE FIRST COMMITTEE WAS PRE-OCCUPIED WITH LARGE NUMBER OF SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES, THERE WAS LESS CRITICISM OF CCD OR OF ITS CO-CHAIRMANSHIP INSTITUTION. MEXICAN-SPONSORED CCD ENLARGEMENT RES ENDORSING ADDITION OF FIVE NEW MEMBERS WAS APPROVED BY ACCLAMATION WITH HARDLY ANY ADVERSE COMMENT ON CCD AS AN INSTITUTION. AUSTRALIA REAFFIRMED INTEREST IN CCD MEMBERSHIP AND GHANA ALSO EXPRESSED DESIRE TO JOIN. MOST IMPORTANTLY, FIRST COMMITTEE DEMONSTRATED SUPPORT FOR ENLARGED SCOPE OF CCD BY REFERRING TO IT A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF ISSUES FOR CONSIDERATION. THESE INCLUDED NEW ITEMS--ENVIRONMENTAL WARFARE, ARMS CONTROL IMPLICATIONS OF PEACEFUL NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS, AND A STUDY OF NUCLEAR FREE ZONES--AS WELL AS TWO HOLDOVER ITEMS, CHEMICAL WEAPONS AND COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN. NFZ STUDY RES (SEE SEPTTEL ON NUCLEAR ISSUES) HAS IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE ROLE AND ORGANIZATION OF CCD, SINCE STUDY IS TO BE CARRIED OUT UNDER CCD AUSPICES BY AD HOC GROUP OF GOVERNMENTAL EXPERTS, SOME OF WHOM WILL REPRESENT COUNTRIES NOT MEMBERS OF CCD (FINLAND AND AUSTRALIA ARE TWO OBVIOUS CANDIDATES). MANNER OF ORGANIZING STUDY WILL PRESUMABLY SET PRECEDENTS FOR SIMILAR STUDIES IN FUTURE AND MAY AFFECT CCD STRUCTURE IN OTHER WAYS.
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